1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



249 ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

249 184 Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

249 433 435 178 Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

244 243 [312] The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

## THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

805 24 [171] [177] The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

## THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1



[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1955. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.53 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

### *Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process*

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*er shih ssu chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



death, and marriage. In Tapu, Tu Ti Kung is the patron of the business establishments in his neighborhood. In Peihotien, he watches over the village farmers.

Peihotien is by far the most attractive of the villages of Hotien. The others have become dusty tangles of buildings in a maze of narrow paths. Unwilling to give up the precious paddy land for anything so unprofitable as living space, the growing population has built new wings and even new houses in courtyards and passageways, destroying trees and shrubs that once gave grace to their setting. Few houses enjoy the filtered shade of old trees, and the scraggly bushes scattered among them are so frequently attacked by animals and children that their life expectancy is short. Peihotien's site on the bank of the Tamsui is, by comparison, luxuriant in large healthy trees and a variety of smaller greenery. In the days when the area was settled, long before modern truck farming, the thin, sandy soil appeared useless, fit only for building sites, kitchen gardens, and drying grounds. Peihotien has grown as rapidly as its neighbors, but there is still an unusual amount of space between houses. Several families make use of it by maintaining bamboo groves, adding tender bamboo shoots to their diet and another source of shade and texture to their landscape. Even in the dry days after the rice harvest when hot winds carry the dust from the drained paddies high into the air, Peihotien seems more protected, cooler, cleaner. From a distance the other villages of Hotien can readily be identified for what they are, but Peihotien is a pleasant uncertainty, a clump of dark green foliage with a suggestion of rose brick and a glimpse of the soaring lines of a rich tile roof.

Before 1920, when the railroad was laid through Tapu, Peihotien's location on the Tamsui River had more than aesthetic value. The river, as a major thoroughfare, was important to the economy of the village. Two or three families supplemented their farm income by poling ferries across the river and several village men supported their families by transporting goods between the remote villages and Taipei. Peihotien was an agricultural village, but its farmers depended upon the river to tide them over when crops failed or families became too large. The advent of the railroad with its faster, more comfortable transportation soon ended river travel and the advantage of Peihotien's position beside it. Before long the railroad took the river's place in the village's economy, and then some. It was less than a half hour's walk from Peihotien to the railway station in Tapu and only a few more minutes by train to the factories in other cities.